20¢ MAY 15, 1950

New Republic

THE LESSON OF THE PRIMARIES

AN EDITORIAL

POINT FOUR AND THE U. N.

By MORDECAI EZEKIEL

HAROLD L. ICKES: THE BIG HEART OF TEXAS

MAX LERNER REVIEWS DULLES' "WAR OR PEACE"

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Philadelphia

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H. L. B.
Bronx, N. Y.

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New Republic

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EDITOR: Michael Straight
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
MANAGING EDITOR: Jack Weeks
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Malcolm Cowley, John Farrelly, Harold L. Ickes, Joseph P. Lash, Max Lerner, James R. Newman, Gus Tyler
FOREIGN AFFAIRS EDITOR: Percy Winner
WASHINGTON BUREAU: Helen Fuller (Political Editor), Jean Begeman
DEPARTMENTS: Robert Hatch (Chief), Cecil Smith (Music), Saul Carson (Radio and Television), Harold Clurman (Theatre), Lincoln Kirstein (Fine Arts)
COPY EDITING: Elizabeth Huling (Chief), Ruth Tarcov

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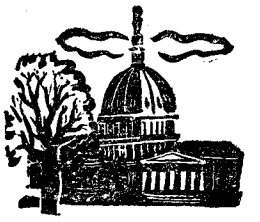
WASHINGTON WIRE

THREE TRIPS tell the world's story pretty well: Trygve Lie is off to Moscow to save the UN; Acheson is off to Paris to save the Atlantic Pact; Truman is off to the Far West to save his Administration.

It does Truman good to get out of Washington. He talks the language the common man understands; he is at his best in these informal rear-platform talks. He is refreshed by the 15-hour day that wilts reporters covering it. There is, too, an inspiration in the great, bland, friendly, quizzical, majestic American continent. This refreshment to the Presidential spirit is not part of the news story of such a trip, but it is a vital fact for all that.



The Truman train leaves the Eastern seaboard, crosses the Alleghenies, speeds across the flat, fat corn belt busy with spring plowing, rumbles over the muddy Mississippi, rushes by moonlight through the sagebrush, climbs the long, lonely mid-continent hump with an extra engine tugging in front. Then it reaches the Great Divide and drops down through one or another of the West Coast mountain passes where the floor of the valley is a mile high and you can touch the sky with your hand and streams are suddenly cascading in the other direction. And there, finally, is the Pacific, with the slow combers running up the sands, making millions of lace handkerchiefs with their foam. Yep, it's good for a man who represents all the people to see that.

Eight Democratic Senators really gave McCarthy the works on May 3 in one of the most brutal face-to-face maulings we have ever seen on the Senate floor. If they had acted like this two months ago the country would have been spared a coil of confusion. But Democrats were shaking in their shoes then. It is a sign of hope that shell shock now is departing and opponents are coming out of their foxholes to make a long-expected and delayed frontal assault.

The question was a subordinate one: Had McCarthy on February 20 put into the *Congressional Record* an untrue account of his initial February 10, Wheeling radio charges? Bitter-tongued West Virginia Senators Kilgore and Neely presented affidavits from managers of Station WMVA indicating that he had given the Senate a watered-down version of his speech, instead of the flat allegation of "205" State Department employees "known to the Secretary of State as being members of the Communist Party." This was the version also carried in the press.

Whether McCarthy had done so was relatively unimportant. What was important was the bang-bang-bang of accusing questions hurled at him, "Answer 'yes' or 'no'!" and of McCarthy's own refusal to answer while the Senate watched. Rarely have more contemptuously insulting phrases appeared under "Senatorial courtesy." Said Tydings (D, Md.) at one point, "It is not a trick question: It can be answered either one way or another by an honest man."

Democrats participating in the thrashing were Kilgore, Neely, Lucas, Lehman, Humphrey, Douglas, Myers, Tydings and Anderson. Significantly, the only three Republicans who defended McCarthy—Wherry, Jenner and Donnell—made no attempt to support his original charges but reverted weakly to the old demand for disclosure of confidential loyalty files. Meanwhile the situation has shifted here. Switching from Owen Lattimore, McCarthy is now going to "stand or fall" on the Amerasia case.

Facts about his personal life have come to light that make Louis F. Budenz seem a rather curious person to be a professor at Fordham. The attack on Lattimore rests principally on the credibility of this ex-Communist who has now returned to the Catholic faith. Hateful though the matter is, we do not see how the record can be ignored.

The big Senate filibuster against the "voluntary" fair-employment-practices bill now begins. The House passed a

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measure without compulsory features last February, 240 to 177. Republicans are on the spot here. Last year they joined the Dixiecrats to wreck the most promising drive in 50 years to write a new anti-filibuster closure rule in the Senate. They insisted that the provision they did write, requiring 64 votes to break a filibuster, was adequate. Most people think this is tommyrot. Will the GOP join the Administration in applying its rule to break the filibuster? We think not.

Hitherto, it had been widely assumed that certain "sissies" on the old Lilienthal Atomic Energy Commission, who are known to have vehemently opposed Truman's momentous decision to make the H-bomb, did so because they thought this weapon just too terrible. On March 27, in one of the most important and little noticed speeches of the year, Robert Bacher, ex-AEC Commissioner and California Tech nuclear physicist, gave a different reason. In cold, unemotional terms he argued that we could spend our billions to better military advantage on A-bombs. The decision may spell victory or defeat if war comes. How can the public judge while it is kept in complete ignorance?

Notes. At his press conference May 4, Truman said flatly: the federal deficit exists because Congress has not authorized the necessary taxes to carry on the government. . . . Is war imminent? Much as we dislike the cut in Marshall Plan funds, the action indicates that the Senate, anyway, doesn't see war around the next corner. . . . Keep your eye on Tydings; he'll make the final point-by-point Senate refutation of McCarthy when the time comes. . . . Who are today's isolationists? These 11 diehard Senators voted or were paired against any ECA aid whatsoever: Republicans Dworshak, Idaho; Jenner and Capehart, Indiana; Kem, Missouri; Malone, Nevada; Wherry, Nebraska; Williams, Delaware; Young and Langer, North Dakota; and Democrats Johnston, South Carolina, and Byrd, Virginia. . . . We predicted the Argentine loan; now Dictator Perón is going to get it. . . . Broadening social-security coverage will be the biggest achievement of this legislative session.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Protest from England

SIR: We, who represent creative workers of all political persuasions in the British film industry, are very concerned to hear that the ten writers and film-makers who were indicted in 1947 by the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives have been refused their appeal by the Supreme Court, and must now serve a year's imprisonment for contempt of court and each pay a fine of $1,000 for their refusal to declare their political affiliations.

Whilst it is none of our business to comment upon the legal practice of another country, we feel most strongly that the principles involved in the original hearings of this case, which were commented upon very widely in the American and the British press at the time, and in the refusal of the Supreme Court to hear any appeal, directly affect the liberties of the writer, film-maker and broadcaster in America, and, indirectly, in all other countries.

On behalf of our organizations, we protest against this treatment of our American colleagues.

RONALD NEAME, Chairman,
British Film Academy
ANTHONY ASQUITH, President,
Association of Cinematograph
and Allied Technicians
FRANK LAUNDER, President,
The Screenwriters Association

London, England

Left-Wing Republican

SIR: I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for printing a really intelligent and liberal magazine, and to assure you of my continued support, in my small way of course, on most of the policies which were outlined in the State of the Union issue. . . .

In politics, I consider myself a liberal Republican of the Morse, Lodge, Tobey, Smith, Javits brand. We are beginning a bitter battle between the two factions of the party in New Hampshire. Senator H. Styles Bridges' ex-administrative assistant, Wesley Powell, is opposing Senator Charles W. Tobey for the Senatorial nomination. At the present time, Powell is definitely the underdog, but sage political observers are predicting a close race. In 1944, Tobey won the nomination by only a very small majority. Powell will have on his side many of Bridges' faithful friends and supporters.

In my opinion, the future of the Republican Party as a national organization lies in the younger and more liberal groups. However, don't let Powell's extreme youth fool you. He is just another mossback like his boss. . . .

The various exponents of McCarthyism, including the esteemed Senators Bridges, Taft and Wherry, are threatening to completely destroy the Republican Party as a major national political force. I believe the American people are intelligent enough to guard themselves against Communists and Communism without all this hysteria.

Many of the reactionary leaders are up for reëlection next November. If Democrats and liberal Republicans defeat enough of them on the day of reckoning it might leave the liberals in control of the party. Meanwhile, we shall continue the fight for democracy against the various witch hunters. I for one will have nothing to do with the reactionary policies of the more right-wing element of the party.

Concord, N. H. GEORGE CLINTON

What Can We Lose?

SIR: We failed to keep out of war in 1917. We failed to establish a genuine peace in 1919. We failed to prevent war in Asia in 1937 and war in Europe in 1939. We failed to keep out of war in 1941. Again we have failed to establish a true peace. Five years after our victory in Europe our leaders warn that we are facing the gravest threat in our history.

We are dismayed because overseas there is no powerful nation to oppose Russian aggression. But we ourselves largely created this dreadful vacuum. We smashed Germany and Japan. Our motives were high. We are not imperialists. But our troops occupy countries which we devastated and conquered. We are trying to police the world. We cannot be sure that our policies caused the frightful carnage of the recent past or the appalling menace of the present. But surely, at some time and in some way, we tragically erred.

We have tried isolation and intervention. We have never tried internationalism—a restrained and impersonal use of joint force. Is it not time to consider, openly and thoroughly, the arguments for a world federation?

Worcester, Mass. MYRON M. JOHNSON

Harold Laski

SIR: *New Republic* readers will be interested, I think, in knowing that the New School for Social Research will hold an evening in appreciation of the life and work of the late Harold J. Laski, Tuesday, May 16, at 8:30 p.m. In addition to his long and close connection with the *New Republic*, Mr. Laski was a member of the first New School faculty in 1919. He lectured at the School at various times in subsequent years, including his last visit to the United States a year ago.

AGNES DE LIMA

New School for Social Research,
New York City

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VOLUME 122, NUMBER 20, ISSUE 1850, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 15, 1950 **New Republic**

THE LESSON OF THE PRIMARIES

IF THE ADMINISTRATION cherished any belief that 1950 would be an easy year for the Democrats, the first round of primaries should change that. The defeat of Claude Pepper in Florida demonstrates the power of the smear. Senator Pepper was driven from the office he has held with honor and distinction for 14 years by an emotional appeal to the basest prejudices of the Florida voters. Representative George Smathers, the victor, attacked Pepper as a "nigger-lover" and a "Red." With plenty of money, a formidable campaign organization, and no scruples, Smathers made those charges stick in the voters' minds.

The emotionalism aroused against Pepper was not matched by crusading zeal in his behalf. The Senator himself, experienced campaigner though he was, was trapped into taking the defensive. Assailed as "a classmate of Alger Hiss" at Harvard Law School and a friend of Paul Robeson and Joe Stalin, even the cool-headed Pepper forgot the first rule of politics and, instead of declaring his affirmative program and lambasting his challenger, wasted his time denying Smathers' irresponsible charges.

Much was made of the great increase in the number of Negro voters this year. Registered Negro voters in Florida totaled about 69,000 in 1948. When registration closed for the primary, an estimated 108,000 Negroes had qualified. The CIO and the AFL political-action committees had done much to encourage Negroes to register, but the main credit for this show of responsible citizenship actually belonged to the Negro ministers who led their flocks to the registration books. But the Smathers forces roused white against black with tales of how the CIO was organizing the Negroes to take over the state. An "Order of Smathers Sergeants" of "red-blooded young Americans" was recruited to "keep order on Election Day" and make up a permanent "anti-Communist force."

Intimidation kept many of the newly-qualified Negroes from voting. Widespread buying of votes at high prices—as much as $10-$20 per vote is understood to have been offered in some places—further cut into Pepper's strength.

Pepper was not defeated on principle. He was done in by a ganging-up of the conservative, anti-Pepper Democrats of his state with big-money Republicans from the North. Local political experts estimate that upwards of 40,000 Florida Republicans changed their registration, under urging of their party, to vote against Pepper in the Democratic primary. The Young Republicans of Florida openly circularized their members to raise funds for Democrat Smathers. How many thousands of dollars poured into Smathers' campaign chest from Northern corporations will never be known. Unquestionably much of the expense of defeating Pepper was, as Jack Kroll, CIO political-action director, charged, "paid for with du Pont money." The desire of this important family, which now owns a large part of Florida, to defeat Pepper was no secret. Smathers' Miami law firm has the du Pont interests as clients.

The Ohio Democratic primary results are sad evidence of a wasted opportunity. The great "vote-getter," "Little Joe" Ferguson, whose dog-in-the-manger attitude kept stronger men from running, received only 157,000 votes for the Democratic nomination to oppose Senator Robert A. Taft in November. This was not even a majority of the total Democratic votes cast. The two liberal candidates, Mayor Michael Di Salle, of Toledo, and Professor Henry Miller Busch, of Cleveland, exceeded Ferguson's total in their combined ballots.

Obviously, with no more strength than this in his own party, Ferguson is not a match for Senator Taft. Had any real determination and intelligence gone into the selection of a Democratic candidate, the liberals would have put only one man into the Democratic primary, the CIO and the AFL would have actively joined in the primary instead of sitting on the fence as they did, and the Democratic National Committee would have taken charge of deciding who was to be the party standard-bearer instead of pretending it had no right to intervene in a primary choice. Because of this abdication of responsibility on all sides, Taft will be free to drive the country to the Right from his lofty seat in the Senate for another six years.

The Dixiecrats appear to have been held in check by the election in Alabama. The two top candidates for Governor who will go into a run-off election on May 30 opposed the bolt from the national Democratic Party in 1948, and a majority of the new Democratic State Executive Committee are also anti-Dixiecrats. Nevertheless, the States' Rights Party still is powerful in Ala-

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bama and will not accept this verdict at the polls as final. Smathers' victory in Florida gave them great encouragement. Some of the anti-Truman Democrats who supported Smathers against Pepper did so with 1952 and another Southern bolt from Truman in mind. Bernard Baruch, for example, aided Smathers from behind the scenes, presumably hoping to develop a Florida ally for his friend, the soon-to-be-Governor of South Carolina, James F. Byrnes, for a 1952 Dixie coup.

The Florida and Ohio primaries contain important lessons for the elections to come. First, it must be recognized that McCarthyism has fouled the atmosphere of the whole nation. The CIO-PAC has not exaggerated in its warning against what is probably ahead:

> We face an assault upon the whole pattern of our society —upon unemployment compensation, upon old-age income, public housing, health and education. The enemies within our gates are cunning, rich, desperate and unscrupulous. They will stop at nothing.
>
> Unable to meet the issues, the reactionaries in 1950 have sought to dodge them under a smoke screen of wild and irresponsible talk. They have degraded the immunities of the Senate to their ends. They are using race hatred and class hatred, character assassination, forgery and falsehood—anything and everything that will confuse the issues and the people. . . . The tactics we have just seen in Florida will soon be used in every state, in every ward and precinct where a public office is at stake.

Republican spokesmen, commenting on the Florida result, jubilantly declared that this is precisely their intention. The smear will now become GOP election policy. Defensiveness and declarations by the Democrats that they are more anti-Communist than the Republicans will be just as futile as they were in Florida. It is even more important now than it was in 1948 for the President to stress the need for completing the program of social reform in America which has been stalled since 1940.

Unless disaster is to befall the Democrats in this election year, the President will have to take firm control of his party's actions. That would mean several immediate breaks with political tradition, but Truman has proved himself capable of breaking with tradition when conditions require. First he must free himself and his principal party tool, the Democratic National Committee, from the myth of the sanctity of primaries. The disastrous mistake made in Ohio must not be repeated. In Wisconsin, where aging Senator Alexander Wiley (R) must stand for reëlection this year, two progressive Democrats are tearing the party apart in a struggle for the Senatorial nomination. Unless the national party intervenes, the Democratic campaign against Wiley will be limited to the six weeks between the primary and the general election. Intelligent leadership from the President and the National Committee could resolve this situation in favor of one or the other of the Democratic contenders so that the campaign to remove the backward, isolationist Wiley from the Senate could begin now instead of mid-September, when it will probably be too late. Democrats in more than one state are in the same dilemma as in Wisconsin.

In this off-year, as in every non-Presidential election, the Democrats suffer from lack of public interest in the contests. For the long-run good of the Democratic Party as well as for its success in 1950, President Truman should seek new ways of making the public aware of what deep meaning the elections hold for everyone. One way might be by changing the present rules to provide for holding national party conventions every two years instead of every four years as is now the case. National conventions, so often ridiculed for their circus aspects, serve the desirable function of making the country aware of the fact that an election is going on. It is a political truism that the greater the popular interest in a national election, as evidenced by the size of the vote, the greater the majority for the Democrats in Congress. A full-dress convention, preceding *every* election, should help bring voters to the polls. Moreover, it would provide an opportunity for discussing policies and educating local party leaders on national problems.

The "Jefferson Jubilee" meeting of the Democratic Party to be held in Chicago May 13-15 is an unconscious move in the direction of more frequent national conventions. It will be, in effect, the first such biennial meeting. Key party workers from all the states, cabinet members and major office-holders will gather to discuss policy and pep one another up for the elections to come. The party should consciously plan now for action at the next regular convention in 1952 to make the biennial meetings permanent policy. When that action has been taken, Congressional primaries should be deferred to take place *after* the platform has been laid down by the convention, and the platform should be binding on all candidates who run under the party emblem.

Republican National Chairman Guy Gabrielson has declared that "the Florida primary confirms the trend. Voters everywhere are turning toward the principles for which the Republican Party has been fighting and against the socialism of President Truman's Fair Deal. Will the President recognize this rebuke from his own party, or on his 'non-political' trip will he continue to talk about red herrings, socialized medicine and the Brannan Plan?" By such talk, the Republican press agents hope to scare the President away from his own program. Let no man join together what we have put asunder, is their prayer. It is for the President to prove again that he does not scare easily.

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THE WEEK

THE COMING FEPC FIGHT

The curtain is finally ready to rise on the great filibuster of 1950. With the completion of Senate action on the ECA bill, FEPC legislation goes to the top of the agenda. For four solid months, liberals in both parties have fought to achieve this. The repeated postponements of FEPC consideration have been the major grievance that Negro, labor and liberal groups have had against the Administration this year. The White House has firmly refused on at least six different occasions to bring up FEPC in advance of other legislation it considered more urgent.

Now the parties must stand up and be counted. The new Republican closure rule approved by the last Congress will have its first test. When the 80th Congress adopted Senator Kenneth Wherry's bill to permit limitation of debate on *any* matter with the approval of 64 Senators, the contention was that it would make it easy to prevent filibusters. Liberal members declared that, on the contrary, the Wherry rule would be practically useless as a weapon for cutting off debate after a reasonable time. This argument will undoubtedly be revived as the FEPC fight proceeds in the Senate.

The circumstances surrounding current consideration of FEPC will make it more difficult for many Senators to oppose bringing the matter to a vote than on previous occasions. This year, for the first time since FEPC was originally proposed, the legislation comes to the Senate already bearing the approval of the House. Although the bill passed by the Representatives is much milder in form than the first bill sponsored by the White House, lacking any real enforcement provisions, it is clear as to principle.

The strong Administration measure on FEPC will be the issue before the Senate at the outset, but it is generally assumed that a compromise version, along the lines of the House bill, will be quickly substituted. Who authors this substitute will bear heavily on the final vote for and against limiting debate. Senator Robert A. Taft has indicated that he plans to offer such a measure. Several Democrats are sure to vie for the privilege. The fact that the House bill bears the name of a Republican—Representative Samuel McConnell (Pa.)—is already an embarrassment to the Administration. The Democrats will try to avoid passing a "Taft bill" in the Senate for fear the public would get the impression that the Republicans had done the job. Southerners are wary of a "Taft bill" on FEPC because most Republicans would feel compelled to support closure in that case.

The Southerners, uncertain of how strong they will be in a showdown vote to invoke closure, have planned a series of delaying moves in advance of the closure test. Senator Taft is high in favor with the Dixie Senators just now because of his announced intention of bringing up a resolution to disapprove the President's reorganization plan abolishing the office of general counsel in the National Labor Relations Board. That plan will automatically go into effect on May 23 unless the Senate or the House rejects it before then. It seems unlikely that the House will do so. The reorganization resolution has privileged status in the Senate and Taft feels bound to insist that this be recognized before FEPC is allowed to proceed. But even with privileged status, the reorganization bill must have a majority vote in the Senate to take precedence over FEPC. Democratic leader Scott Lucas will fight Taft on this matter by every possible means.

The South's own Senator Walter George (Ga.) is in a position to lead another delaying action. As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, George has charge of the important social-security-expansion bill which will be reported to the Senate this week, after months of hearings. It will be Senator George's privilege at any time after that to move for his bill to be taken up. George says that when a very few days have elapsed, he will demand a vote on social security, "regardless of what bill is before the Senate."

Senator Lucas intends to provide for at least a full week of debate before taking the test vote to limit debate and finally go on the record for or against FEPC. The manner in which the Administration leadership conducts itself during the period of the debate will be of great importance to liberal and minority groups in judging the comparative sincerity of the two parties. What takes place on the Senate floor this week will have as much bearing on the elections of this year and 1952 as what is said from the back platform of the Presidential train.

WHITTLING DOWN ECA

Senate action on the Administration's foreign-aid bill again underlines the definite lack of bipartisan support in foreign policy which now exists. Although the Senate authorized $3.1 billion for overseas appropriation, 60 to 8, the roll-call votes taken in the process were clear evidence of growing opposition to such expenditures.

The Senate, like the House, voted $2.85 billion in aid to Western Europe for 1951, which was $250 million less than the Administration had requested. The quarter-billion cut was put through easily, 47 to 32, by a Republican-Southern Democratic coalition, despite a letter from ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman warning that such a cut would be "penny-wise and pound-foolish." Only a year ago an amendment to reduce the ECA authorization by 10 percent lost, 54 to 23. Last week an amendment by Senator Robert A. Taft to lower the Marshall Plan total by $500 million was barely defeated in a tie vote. Only six Republicans voted against the Taft proposal; 30 Republicans and 10 Democrats were for it. A series of other Republican amendments which would have completely wrecked the European Recovery Program received a frightening amount of support.

Taft, Minority Leader Kenneth Wherry and Senator James Kem (R, Mo.), who tried to cut a full billion from aid to Europe, have all made it clear that the fight over the authoriza-

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tion measure will not be the end of their effort to "economize" in the foreign field this year. The bill now goes to a conference committee for reconciliation of the differences between the two Houses. There is certain to be a strong attempt at that point to lower the Senate authorization of $45 million for beginning technical assistance to underdeveloped areas to the House-approved sum of $25 million. Point Four squeaked through the Senate by only one vote, after surviving, 41 to 33, a proposal to shelve the program for "study."

The Administration will have a difficult time maintaining the $45 million for technical assistance if the conference committee agrees to a lesser sum. Even if the authorization bill were approved in full, foreign aid would still have to survive the appropriations process.

GERMANY AND THE HOUSE

A bipartisan group of Representatives have followed the lead of their Senate colleagues in presenting a resolution for a review of American policy in Germany (the *NR*, May 1). Twelve Representatives, including Jacob Javits (R, N. Y.) and Emanuel Celler (D, N. Y.), urge formation of a Presidential Commission of Inquiry on Germany along the lines recently proposed by Senator Guy Gillette (D, Iowa). The sponsors in the House believe "that Germany remains the principal front of the cold war and that as she goes, Europe is likely to go."

The belated concern over the German crisis was aroused by the consideration of another appropriation of $552,900,000 for Western Germany under the European Recovery Program. "Through our aid to Great Britain and France (which are also occupying Germany) and the maintenance of our occupation establishment we estimate that the aggregate cost of the German occupaion will be not less than $1 billion for the fiscal year 1950-51," those urging the House investigation point out. Before pouring more money into Germany, the Representatives asserted, full examination should be made of the arguments that we should stop dismantling German industrial plants and remove the remaining economic restrictions on the ground that these policies hamper European recovery. "At a time when economy in government is the order of the day, the uncritical acceptance of these arguments could lead to a premature turnover of full control to the Germans themselves with the gravest consequences. . . . If at this stage full German control should lead to unification of the Eastern and Western zones of Germany, remilitarization and a new Soviet-German alliance, open or covert, a new and even graver threat of aggression than the world has ever known would be presented," the House sponsors said.

The group calls for development of all the facts with regard to any community of interest between ultra-nationalists and ex-Nazis in the Western Zone and Communist elements in the Eastern Zone as well as a complete exposition of how the effort to bring democracy to Western Germany has fared. Representative Celler charged that "Germany is again being wooed as the belle of the ball. She will sell herself to the highest bidder." Celler cited several reasons why Congress should not delay in this investigation:

¶ Chancellor Adenauer has thrown his full support behind the remilitarization of Germany. Celler said Adenauer has already formed an army general staff, called the Brotherhood of German Generals, which is made up entirely of former Nazi generals.

¶ Evidence of "efforts to reinstate the prewar international steel cartel by Germans and by British and French officials" is mounting. Celler referred to recent testimony before his Monopoly Committee by James Martin, former chief of decartelization of American Military Government, pointing out that our occupation authorities condoned the presence of two American observers from the steel industry at a recent Brussels meeting in which reformation of the cartel was discussed.

¶ A report that 80 percent of the state's attorneys and judges in Western Germany are former Nazis, who not only have control over denazification proceedings but also have been given authority over displaced persons by the occupation authorities.

Both Senate and House sponsors of the resolution agree that the political and economic federation of Europe is vital to European security and is an essential framework within which to attain full economic revival and even ultimate unification of Germany. "If we are to continue heavy expenditures and responsibility in the occupation of Germany," the House members concluded, "it must be with our eyes open and with an understanding of the reasons and the objective."

AUTO WORKERS' VICTORY

The 100-day strike by the United Auto Workers against the Chrysler Corporation has ended in what the union considers a "complete victory." Chrysler workers are now entitled to benefits almost identical with those which UAW President Walter Reuther obtained for his members from the Ford Motor Company last fall.

The union won the full equivalent of the "10-cents-an-hour package" it demanded when the Chrysler strike began last January 25. Under the new contract, pension benefits alone will equal seven cents of the package. Workers who retire at 65 after 25 years' service will receive a maximum of $100 a month, including social-security payments due them. The union demand that pension funds be administered jointly through an independent trust fund was bitterly fought by the company and finally agreed to only under the heaviest union pressure. Chrysler workers retiring after 65 following 15 years or more of service will receive an additional $500 to $1,000 of free life insurance, depending on length of employment.

Now Reuther and the UAW turn their pension demands on the third and largest target in the auto industry—General Motors. The union will demand $125 monthly pensions for its 285,000 GM members when the UAW-GM contract expires May 28. As in the case of the Ford and Chrysler agreements, GM pensions would include social-security payments also. The UAW is "hopeful we will find a peaceful way to GM settlement." But Reuther has made it clear that "if there isn't any choice, we will fight." Working UAW members have shown by the willingness with which they have paid the $1 weekly strike assessment levied on them

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for the past 12 weeks that they can be relied on for whatever aid may be needed at General Motors in future months.

THE RADICAL REPUBLICAN

PORTLAND (NR correspondent)

Wherever there are liberal Republicans in office today, strong conservative opposition is forming in the GOP primaries. Left-wing Republicans are counting on the Oregon primary on May 19 to show that their roots are deep enough to hold against the reactionaries in their party.

Senator Wayne Morse stands to win the Oregon Senatorial nomination over the most determined kind of campaign to oust him as the party candidate. David Hoover, a 52-year-old dairy farmer who served 11 years as a deputy sheriff of Los Angeles County, is the main stooge of the hard-shell Republicans. Until he filed against Morse, Hoover had been known only as a prolific writer of "letters to the editors." In general, the letters express the Republican philosophy of the McKinley period.

Most of Hoover's support comes from lumbermen, doctors, real-estate operators and others who find Morse's voting record too near that of Fair Deal Senators. Ernest G. Swigert, regional vice-president of the National Association of Manufacturers, has been one of the leaders in the anti-Morse campaign. Dr. James E. Buckley, president of the Oregon State Medical Society, is another. Buckley was the principal organizer of a campaign among doctors which helped Governor Thomas E. Dewey win the Oregon preferential primary for the Presidential nomination in 1944. John C. Higgins, wealthy retired partner of the John Foster Dulles law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, who has large mining and lumbering interests in Oregon, is on record against Morse. James A. Rodman, a real-estate broker and past state Republican chairman, heads the Hoover-for-Senator committee.

Morse has not been strapped for money. One of the coups of his own campaign was obtaining E. C. Sammons, president of Oregon's largest banking firm, as his finance chairman. Morse's Democratic enemies, who are displeased with his opposition to President Truman's Columbia Valley Authority proposal, have taunted him with this big-money connection. Part of Morse's strategy has been to run an inexpensive campaign, even if the reserves are there.

The Democrats have less chance of beating Oregon's unusual Republican than those Republicans who detest him. They haven't been able to find an effective candidate. Opposing Morse on the Democratic ticket will be either Dr. Louis A. Wood, a retired University of Oregon economics professor whose views are liberal but whose campaigning is ineffectual, or Howard Latourette, a Portland lawyer and clubman who is as conservative as the anti-Morse Republicans. Polls indicate that Latourette, a former Democratic National committeeman whose name is politically familiar in Oregon, will win the Democratic primary. But if Morse survives the primary he should have little trouble, for his Democratic votes will more than offset those of Republicans who prefer anyone to Morse.

PAUL BLOCK vs. THE UAW

TOLEDO (NR correspondent)

Richard Gosser, UAW-CIO vice-president and chief spokesman for the 40,000 members of Toledo's Local 12, has been the main target of anti-union forces in the city ever since he proposed an area pension plan early last fall. The plan would enable the UAW workers affected to change employers and still safeguard their pension rights. Individual firms would contribute to an area pension fund. Toledo management objected to the plan. The press, the Chamber of Commerce and other NAM-backed cliques formed the "Committee to Save Toledo Payrolls" as a propaganda organ, but within a few weeks disbanded because of ineffectiveness. The anti-pension forces found a way to smear Gosser—and indirectly the pension plan—through a court suit begun last November by an obscure clerk-typist, John Bolman, who claimed he was denied the right to see the Automobile Workers' Building Corporation books.

Gosser was accused of making a personal profit of $23,000 from the sale of some downtown property owned by the union building corporation. Bolman charged that he and another worker were beaten when they requested a look at the AWBC books. Dismissed from his job, Bolman filed suit against Gosser after Paul Block Jr., publisher of Toledo's only newspapers, the morning *Times* and evening *Blade*, gave him $5,000 to pay legal expenses. Union attorneys have successfully blocked inspection of the books on the ground that "examination of a labor organization by persons other than its membership is unusual."

The case is on appeal to the Ohio Supreme Court. Gosser charges that it is "a plot to undermine the pension bid and to destroy our union in . . . Toledo at any cost. . . ." At Gosser's request, UAW President Reuther has appointed an investigating committee. Meanwhile the union is having its turn in court. In an editorial in the *Blade*, one of Gosser's aids was referred to as a member of the Willys-Overland "goon squad." As a result the *Blade* and Editor Block face a $50,000 libel suit.

HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

"Let's come to order, class. The next shift is waiting."

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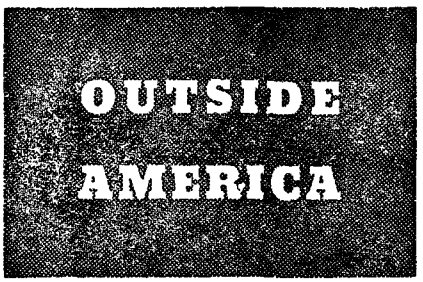

French Premier Georges Bidault's proposal of an "Atlantic High Council" seems to be part of a personal bid for the role of "the third man" among the makers of the Atlantic community. In this role he would continue the creative leadership of the first two men—Winston Churchill, whose military strategy laid the foundation of the community, and George Marshall, whose economic policy gave it structure.

Neither of the two ideas—the Atlantic council or the third man—is entirely Bidault's. He got them from articles written by a brilliant 26-year-old French journalist, Jean-Jacques Servan Schreiber, member of a wealthy newspaper-owning family and political columnist for the conservative *Le Monde* of Paris. Bidault has since elevated Servan Schreiber to an important place in the brains trust of the Matignon, the seat of the presidency of the council.

Servan Schreiber's ideas, therefore, have taken on great practical political importance; his position is no longer merely that of a writer. Often in the past, these ideas have been sharply critical of American foreign policy. Recently, however, they have become a consistent effort to suggest means by which American policy could move toward goals and methods acceptable to "advanced" thinkers in Western Europe. And there has been a suggestion that some Americans in high places were sympathetic, for Servan Schreiber is making a three-months tour of the United States under American auspices.

He wrote in the third and concluding article of a series on "America in Germany" (republished by the Manchester *Guardian* in England) that:

> We have seen how the illusion of a return to the past became the centerpiece of American policy in Europe. Today this policy is entering a period of confusion which will, no doubt, lead to a reversal. The Americans can see in Germany and elsewhere that their hope of creating in each country a political force that can stand on its own feet, through "democratization" of the classic type, was ill-founded. We are coming to the end of the first experiment in Americanism. It depends both on the play of social forces in Europe and on that of political influences in the United States whether the next development is neo-Fascist, Socialist or anti-Stalin Communist. The first solution is the most probable if the pressure of the cold war grows worse; the second if certain decent tendencies of American society take shape and if an international modus vivendi is established; and perhaps the third if the United States leaves Europe to its fate politically and economically, contenting itself with holding the Soviet military power at arm's length. American democracy must realize that neither arms nor dollars will count without a genuine solid political force at the core of our nations—whatever their outward constitutional appearance may be.

About ten days before Bidault made his speech at Lyon proposing the creation of the Atlantic High Council, Servan Schreiber suggested in *Le Monde* an "organic" union between the leading statesmen of America and Western Europe—a variety of "Atlantic Cominform." Then two days before the speech, Servan Schreiber wrote an article on "The Third Lap." In this, he said the Atlantic community had really been in existence for ten years. Its first man was Churchill, who, between 1940 and 1945, "defined and personified" the goal of total military victory, and through SHAEF gave it an effective tool. The second man was Marshall, who, between 1945 and 1950, "defined and personified" the goal of European recovery, and through ECA provided its successful instrument. He went on:

> Like its predecessors, the third lap must therefore begin with an effort of conception. The first necessary act is to become aware of the new state of affairs. After Churchill and Marshall, we await the third man—the European statesman who will open a new path by affirming the political rebirth of Europe, by giving a new definition of its right to draw up a common policy but also its responsibility in the common effort; who will provide in the coming days the formula which can replace for the Atlantic community the bilateral agreements of the outmoded conception.

Two days after the Lyon speech, Servan Schreiber wrote:

> No one seriously expects the Communists to take over in Rome or Paris, or the Soviets to start a world war. The real problem is long-term. The cold war may last ten years, twenty years, or even much longer. We need an instrument of foresight. That should be the essential role of the Atlantic High Council, after a period devoted to immediate problems. Even today the methods we are using, the same as those of 1920, are singularly ineffective for the problems of 1960.

The real problem of the future is essentially "of conception and imagination" stemming from certain conclusions. The article continued:

> Although the problems of America and Europe are very different now, they will move rapidly toward a fusion. Then the common problem will be the adaptation of social and economic formulas to the new technical revolution. This revolution, of exceptional intensity and occurring at the moment of decline of our capitalist world, greatly changes the historical foresights of the past, and in particular profoundly modifies the basic data of Marxist predictions. The problem of the coming ten or twenty years, the central problem of the cold war, is this: will the Atlantic society be able to adapt itself to the new technical revolution? If not, the Soviet world will win by the internal collapse of its adversary. But if the answer is yes, we shall see the birth of a form of post-capitalist society which will not have much to fear from Communism because it will lift itself to a higher plane of historical development. And we shall be able to expect that the natural evolution of human phenomena will, little by little, by osmosis, bring Stalinist society to a similar state of development; and thus the conflict which now brings us into opposition will progressively be emptied of its content.

These ideas are worth considering not only because Bidault may be using them to make the French government's official contribution to the problem of ways and means of developing the Atlantic community. They are the sort likely to attract currents of French opinion, especially outside Paris, no longer satisfied with the doctrinaire pessimism, the resentful anti-Americanism and the gloomy negativism of the professional intellectuals of the Paris press.

They are also worth considering because they are the kind which, if not handled carefully, can be twisted out of shape by some of the Frenchmen of the Right who are flirting with neo-Fascism, and by some of the Americans who would make the creed of technocracy a social surgery for old problems which need the medicine of reform.

PERCY WINNER

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POINT FOUR AND THE UNITED NATIONS

by Mordecai Ezekiel

FOR MOST OF the world's population, the great wartime pledges of freedom from fear and want—for all men everywhere—are still largely a dream. Three-quarters of the world's people live in underdeveloped countries in malnutrition and poverty. They share but little in the dynamic progress of the rest of the world. The war lifted their aspirations toward political independence and economic progress, yet in most cases their food and consumption standards have not yet regained even the low prewar levels.

Meanwhile the economic outlook of a great capital-supplying region—Western Europe—grows darker as the years of ECA aid run out.

President Truman's Point Four proposals offered a way to start attacking the problems of economic development in the poorer nations of the world. They also offered Western Europe, where substantial progress is under way, an answer to the great economic question: What happens when the Marshall Plan ends?

When approved by Congress and implemented by international agreement, the Point Four program will provide technical experts to assist countries to develop their economies. But "know-how" alone is not enough. Technical services are useless, as President Truman has said, unless they are followed by international investment to make the blueprints function.

In prewar days the underdeveloped countries helped finance a triangular (or multilateral) flow of trade which supported the prosperity of Western Europe. The underdeveloped regions (especially in the tropics) regularly sold to North America far more in raw materials (rubber, copra, petroleum, silk, sugar, jute, copper, coffee, tea, and many others) than they purchased in North American exports. Their surplus dollar earnings went to Western Europe, as profits and interest on investments and as payments for Western European industrial products and services. There, in turn, dollars helped Western Europe finance its great net imports of goods from America (including purchases of our cotton, tobacco, dried fruits, corn, wheat, bacon and lard, automobiles, office machinery and heavy electrical equipment).

Today the underdeveloped countries are no longer able to earn a dollar surplus in foreign trade and the increases in self-government and the liquidation of foreign holdings have reduced their obligations to Europe. Instead of receiving a steady current net inflow of dollars from the underdeveloped countries, Western Europe has been paying back for wartime contributions, notably in the gradual liquidation of blocked sterling balances.

Western Europe has thus been unable to finance its postwar import needs from America not only because of the war's devastation in Europe, but also because of the havoc in other parts of the world and the consequent disappearance of dollar payments. That is a major reason why, as European industry and agriculture complete their rehabilitation and as Marshall Plan payments approach their end, Europe still finds itself faced with a continuing inability to buy and pay for its needed imports from the Americas.

Since Western Europe broadly imports raw materials and exports finished products, no amount of integration of its own national economies can solve its over-all dollar problem. Nor can the increased coöperation of Western European economies with those of other soft-currency areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America provide Europe with all the raw materials it needs; it must draw on North America, too.

This economic background is essential to an understanding of Point Four's broad basic conception: to give underdeveloped nations the "know-how" and the means to help them help themselves—to raise their production and consumption, their exports and their imports, and to bring about a steady, dynamic increase in the world's economic activity. This increase would simultaneously make markets for the expanding industries of the Americas, Europe and the underdeveloped countries. But whether the program can contribute to a rapid reëstablishment of a multilateral system of world trade, or whether it simply creates direct markets for US goods which will dry up as soon as our financing slackens, depends on the way in which it is carried out.

The extent of dollar investment abroad needed to enable world trade to function is indicated roughly from past experience. Since the war, the United States and Canada have financed world recovery by loans and grants running from $7 billion to $8 billion a year. In 1949 these declined to $6 billion, and 1950 will be lower still. Most of those funds went to Western Europe.

To make Point Four really effective in the future, international investment in the underdeveloped countries will be needed eventually in sums of around $5 billion a year. Later, the nations can pay back these investments from their expanded exports to the US and other countries. American national income has doubled every 20 years. With continued growth in our economy, even if it is not quite so rapid, we shall need more and more

Mordecai Ezekiel has spent most of his life as a government economist, specializing in the field of agriculture. He is the author of Jobs for All and other books. Since 1947 he has been an official of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, but he writes this article purely as an American citizen and an economist.

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imports in the years ahead, especially of raw materials. Thus we can help to provide expanding export markets for production in backward countries. During the period in which the funds are being advanced, they will provide dollars for the rest of the world to continue to buy American exports. If a considerable part of these dollar investments is spent for European products, increased investment in the underdeveloped countries can also help to restore the triangular flow of world trade. This would support the recovery of Western Europe and the continuation of democratic governments, thereby making markets for European industrial products. It would also give Europe the dollars to continue its imports of American goods. Over the longer pull, as the world economy and our own expand together, we then would have time to adjust ourselves to fewer and fewer net exports, instead of having to make the change almost overnight.

If these good results are to follow, three conditions are necessary:

¶ The funds advanced, whether loans or grants, must not be "tied" to direct expenditure in America.

¶ Europe must produce the largest part of the industrial equipment needed by the underdeveloped countries.

¶ These countries in turn must spend a substantial part of their foreign funds in Europe rather than in the US.

All of these conditions are germane to the current issue, now hotly debated in Washington, as to whether the US share of Point Four technical assistance should be provided directly by the United States, or whether a substantial portion should be channeled through the UN and its specialized agencies.

On their side, the manifold departments and agencies of the US Government rightly stress the fact that they are already in the technical-assistance business. Under Nelson Rockefeller's Office of the Coördinator of Latin American Affairs and its successor agencies in the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations in the Department of Agriculture, and in parallel activities in other agencies, a steady stream of American experts has gone to many countries, especially in Latin America. Coöperative arrangements with governments have been worked out, joint corporations have been set up to finance economic development, and loans from our Export-Import Bank have backed this development. Since the war, the Bank has loaned nearly three times as much to Latin American countries as to all other underdeveloped countries, in ratio to population. Alone of the backward regions, and in large part because of American aid, Latin America's people are better fed today than they were before the war. In the same way ECA is providing technical assistance to European countries and their colonies and territories. In addition, thousands of men and women throughout the world are receiving practical experience each year in the Bureau of Mines, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Reclamation Service, the Public Service and other federal agencies.

Our government bureaus are already spending millions of dollars a year in technical-assistance activities. They are experienced in choosing personnel, establishing relations with countries, giving practical help on the spot. All they need to do is to expand their present scale of operations. On the other hand, the UN institutions have had little operating experience, and are hampered by multiple controls and international frictions. Also it is easier and simpler for a government department to get an appropriation from Congress, for use by established government departments, spend the money directly, and account to Congress on how it is spent, than to follow through on the spending of the money as part of the operations of an international agency drawing funds from many countries. In these circumstances, many Washington officials honestly feel they are best qualified to spend the bulk of the proposed Point Four appropriations, and they reflect this feeling to Congress.

Here, on the other side, are the arguments which favor using the UN and its specialized agencies:

First, if a substantial portion of the US funds is channeled through the UN, it will stimulate corresponding contributions from other countries. These countries, in addition, have capable technicians in many fields available for foreign service. Why should we in the US pay the whole cost ourselves when other advanced countries are prepared to share part of the burden with us?

Second, direct assistance from any one nation is feared in many parts of the world. Many of the poorest countries have just succeeded in throwing off foreign control. They are jealous of their hard-won liberties. Their political opposition is quick to attack any move that may suggest new dependence on foreign powers or new concessions to foreign influences. Technical assistance through the UN is on a different plane. Their governments are members and help formulate its policies; they do not endanger their independence, political or financial, in working with the UN.

Third, while the UN is newer to the business than the US is, it has wider resources of technicians on which to draw. Even if funds are provided, the shortage of trained brains may for a long time be the factor limiting the extent and effectiveness of technical assistance. UN missions use technicians from many countries all over the world, while direct US technical aid is largely extended through US citizens. This makes for greater variety of viewpoint and opinion among the UN experts, and probably sounder eventual recommendations, as the

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editors of the *New Republic* have pointed out. Further, European experts, in particular, have had long practical experience in dealing with the problems of underdeveloped countries. They understand not only the physical and technical conditions, but the habits of thought and work of the people. Now that colonialism itself is dying, most of these experts are ready to give intelligent and loyal service in helping backward countries increase their output for their own benefit. In many cases these non-American experts may be more realistic and understanding in dealing with the problems of more primitive countries than are American experts. For example, in my own experience abroad, I have found American experts frequently overdisposed to assume that the answer to all problems is to do things just as we do them in the US. Countries often may be better aided to take the next steps ahead by technicians from countries not so many decades or generations removed from them in economic and social progress. Thus American experts frequently put great emphasis on "efficiency," on saving labor, even in countries where for many years to come the problem will be not to save labor but to use productively the labor already idle. Americans find it hard to understand that investment in labor-saving machinery may be wasteful compared to investment in simpler equipment to put more men to work.

A fourth argument in favor of a UN approach is that American technicians tend naturally to specify American equipment. The results were highlighted by the recent Seattle incident, where the low-cost British bid was rejected because it conformed to British instead of American methods of stating specifications. If foreign investments in underdeveloped countries are to be spent in any substantial part for equipment from Western Europe, European engineers and technicians will have to help draw up the plans.

A fifth argument is that the UN agencies have much broader technical resources for giving students and workers advanced training outside their own countries. The US uses its scholarship funds largely to bring students here (for advanced technical work in colleges or professional schools, and for in-service training in public and other institutions). The UN can provide scholarships and in-service training not only in American institutions, but also in institutions of all the other highly developed countries. In many cases training in English, Dutch, Scandinavian or Swiss technical schools, for example, may better prepare the trainees for practical work in their own countries than would American training adapted to our advanced technology and our enormous mass-production economy. Some international scholarships are already being provided by UNESCO. The tentative Point Four program of the FAO, UNESCO and other agencies as summarized in the UN publication, "Technical Assistance for Economic Development," provides for a great expansion in such internationally sponsored technical training.

Another argument for a UN approach arises from the need for international institutes to provide short courses for qualified students from many countries. These training centers, by adding to the skill of officials already engaged in Point Four work, can produce improved technical skills in months instead of the years that it takes for students sent abroad to return and make a contribution. Such international centers have already been proved both economical and effective in the Statistical Training Centers, sponsored jointly by the FAO, the UN Statistical Office and the host countries. These have been conducted during the last two years in Mexico City for Latin America, Cairo for the Near East, Paris for Europe, and New Delhi for the Far East. Reliable facts are the basis for all sound planning and development. And by bringing about material improvement in both census and crop-estimate methods in many underdeveloped countries, these statistical centers have already done a good job. Plans for large-scale expansion of such international training can be put into effect as soon as funds are assured.

The final argument in favor of a UN approach to the Point Four program is the fact that international agencies can conduct activities requiring joint international action far better than individual countries. Many aspects of economic development require this kind of international planning. The steps proposed in each country must be carefully balanced with what's being projected in other countries if some lines are not to be overstressed while others are neglected. One of the UN's major tasks is to study the economic programs of individual countries to see whether they make sense, and then to aid countries to redraft their planning in the light of the prospective world situation, and work out adjustments to make their programs more consistent.

The United States has strongly urged this joint planning as a function of UN agencies. Notable efforts in this field include the work of the UN Economic Commission for Europe, in planning and adjusting European programs of coal, steel, timber and other products, and of the FAO in developing a worldwide review of advance agricultural programs at its annual conferences, and also more intensive regional reviews at regional conferences. Four of these regional meetings were held last fall—at Quito, Cairo, Rome and Singapore. I made a round-the-world air trip to help staff the Singapore meetings and to listen in on the meeting in Rome. I found the frank analysis and discussion of the readjustments needed in Asiatic and European agricultural programs most encouraging. Yet this work is just beginning. If billions of dollars are going to be invested in

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worldwide economic development, the UN's efforts to prevent losses and failures by advance international consultation and planning will need to be greatly expanded.

No country has a monopoly on brains, skill, experience and imagination. Many of the epochal discoveries —such as that of penicillin in this generation, or of the germ source of diseases and of the steam locomotive in earlier ones—were made outside the US. Technical assistance through the UN and its agencies can mobilize all the technical skill and know-how of the world, to speed the process of worldwide economic expansion and to reduce the inevitable mistakes along the way.

If the United States places its major reliance on direct technical assistance through its own agencies, other countries, to the extent they provide technical assistance, may similarly expand assistance directly. But they may limit it to their own areas of interest through their own technicians. Such a tendency is evident in the recent arrangements for expanded technical assistance by the members of the British Commonwealth at their recent conference at Colombo, in the programs of other colonial powers, and in the technical activities of the USSR which so far have been entirely unilateral. Emphasis on unilateral, rather than international, technical assistance might be a decisive and disruptive force in the world economy, tending further to split it into spheres of influence, rather than draw it closer together through UN activities.

Finally, the United States has been one of the main sponsors of the UN and its agencies, and has repeatedly pledged itself to work through them in international political and economic matters. Raising the standards of living of the peoples of the underdeveloped countries is a primary UN objective. If the United States desires to see the UN's power and prestige grow, it must give the UN a fair chance to carry its share of the operating load in dealing with the world's economic problems.

There are strong arguments for a dual approach of direct aid and aid through the UN. The UN aid would draw on the reserves of trained skill from the great army of experienced technicians in Western Europe and Oceania, and the less numerous but still important able men in Latin America, the Near East and Far East. It would help to bind closer necessary trade connections between Europe, Asia, Africa and America. The funds needed to carry the plans into action might similarly be provided, partly from the US and other countries, and partly from international agencies.

But only by emphasis on an international approach can the European Recovery Program be carried through to successful completion as part of a recovery and expansion program for the world.

THE AIR FORCE TRIES DEMOCRACY

by Jean Begeman

JUST ONE YEAR ago, the Air Force established a new personnel policy. Principal commands were directed to abandon racial quotas, break up the segregated units, establish complete equality of assignment and training on an integrated basis, and open all occupational specialties to qualified individuals regardless of race. The Air Force, the youngest and today the most important branch of the National Military Establishment, was the first to obey Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson's stern command that segregation in the armed forces be abolished.

E. W. Kenworthy, a former Baltimore *Evening Sun* newspaperman and executive secretary of President Truman's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Forces, recently toured the major Air Force bases to see how the new policy was working after its first year of operation. He returned with a report that made Army skeptics blush. Of the 25,891 Negroes in the Air Force, 18,489 are completely integrated in mixed units and 7,402 are still in separate units but will soon be absorbed under the new program. Kenworthy found that only at Maxwell Base in Montgomery, Alabama, was there still a segregated squadron.

On the attitude of white officers, Kenworthy said:

"Almost without exception, commanding officers stated frankly that, although they had recognized the merits of the new Air Force racial policy . . . they had been apprehensive. Without any exception, they added that their fears had been completely groundless, and that they were amazed at the ease with which the new policy had been effected and the absence of trouble.

"It was interesting to get the reaction of officers from the South. Some of them stated quite candidly that they did not like the new policy, that it offended ingrained sensibilities, and that personally they would prefer a return to the old system of segregation. But these same officers were quick to add with equal candor that the new policy was working well and without friction."

He said that most of the commanding officers remarked on the increased military efficiency of the new policy and added that the abandonment of segregation had almost brought to an end the charges of discrimination: "With all jobs and schools open, and with assignment on a non-racial basis, the individual was operating on his own in a strictly competitive climate of equal standards rigidly applied."

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At each Air Force base, Kenworthy visited the barracks and messes of the airmen, talked to the enlisted men, and observed sports and recreation, formerly segregated, now completely integrated. "The almost total absence of opposition that had been anticipated in the enlisted man is a contributing factor in the success of the policy," he said. "The men apparently were more ready for equality of treatment and opportunity than the officer corps had realized." The bases he visited besides Maxwell were Keesler, at Biloxi, Mississippi; Lackland, at San Antonio, Texas; Davis-Monthan, at Tucson, Arizona; Williams, at Chandler, Arizona; Scott, at St. Louis, Missouri; and Bolling, at Washington, D. C.

At Biloxi he found that the officers' club and the non-com clubs are freely used by both whites and Negroes. Previously there had been two swimming pools at Keesler, one for whites and one for Negroes. The dances, too, had been segregated. Now Negroes freely use both pools and the dances are often mixed groups. When non-segregation went into effect, many of the townspeople of Biloxi boycotted the dances and sports events of the air base. Now, however, they have accepted the policy on the base, but not in the town.

"The only recreation which the Negro airman can find off base is in a number of so-called clubs in the Negro section. These clubs, for the most part, are combined taverns, pool rooms, restaurants and whorehouses. The upshot . . . is that Negroes increasingly seek their recreation on base where they have day rooms, service clubs, athletic contests, libraries, swimming pools and dances available for them," Kenworthy said.

Last Armistice Day, the city requested Keesler Base to add its entire complement to the holiday parade. The base did this and subsequently received complaints because Negroes marched in their units with white airmen. In response to these complaints, the commander at Keesler said that henceforth the town would have to put on its own parades because the Negroes were properly a part of these units and would not be segregated.

Kenworthy said the "quiet social revolution" within the armed forces is gradually influencing racial relations throughout the nation. "It was the opinion of some officers," he said, "that this program could not but have an effect, eventually, on civilian attitudes; that it was impossible for a white boy to live and work beside a Negro in basic training and in the technical schools without some real change taking place in his attitude toward race and racial equality."

Last week, when John P. Davis, publisher of *Our World* magazine, opened an exhibition of 300 photographs on the activities of Air Force Negroes, Secretary Johnson said: "Time will show that the President's Order [to end segregation] meant what it said. Time will show that the Department of Defense has, I hope, intelligently implemented that Order."

The Executive order was issued two years ago. The Army has taken two steps in the right direction this year. In January, the Army revised its policy governing utilization of Negro manpower, declaring that all training and jobs for enlisted and officer personnel would be administered on an equal merit basis, without regard to race or color. Last month, the Army dropped the quota system which had restricted Negro enlistments to only 10 percent of the total force. But the Army is far behind the Air Force and the Navy in carrying out the full meaning of President Truman's ultimatum to enforce fair racial policies. The costly and inefficient policy of segregated housing, mess and recreational facilities that breeds discrimination and prejudice are still a part of the Army pattern. It is hoped that within the next month the Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, established under the Executive Order and headed by Charles Fahy, will present the President with evidence that will convince his military leaders that there should be a democratic policy for all defenders of democracy.

TROUBLE IN REPUBLICAN PARADISE

by Johannes U. Hoeber

EXCEPT FOR THE brief intermission of Governor Earle's administration (1934-38), the Republican Party has controlled the State Capitol of Pennsylvania and most of the county courthouses as long as people can remember. It has always delivered large majorities for the Republican Presidential candidate—unless he happened to be running against FDR. This spring, the Republican Party is engaged in a family row which may alter the fundamental political character of the Keystone State. It is tearing itself to pieces in the most bitter primary fight Pennsylvania has seen in many a year. Governor James H. Duff and Representative John C. Kunkel are fighting it out for the GOP nomination for US Senator, and Judge John S. Fine of Luzerne County and Jay Cooke, former Republican City Chairman of Philadelphia, are contesting the nomination for Governor.

Here is a few days' crop of newspaper headlines and statements. "Duff calls Stassen the carpetbagger from Minnesota." "Kunkel calls Duff the desecrator of Valley Forge." "Jay Cooke declared tonight that gangster politicians supporting Judge Fine have moved into the State Capitol to take control of the state's

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mental-health program." "Former Governor James says Democrats know so much about corruption in Fine's racket-riddled home county that they will win if Fine is nominated." "Kunkel charges that Duff and Fine would turn control of party and state over to a brazen band of political racketeers and the whiskey lobby." "Duff calls Kunkel a scoundrel. Says he is slow-witted, spoiled rich boy who never grew up to be a real man." All these are quotes from Republican newspapers, which are printing reams of this sort of material every day. Both factions are buying hours of radio time to broadcast their quarrels to every hamlet in the state.

Behind all this is a life and death struggle for control of the Republican Party of Pennsylvania and potentially of the nation. Duff and Fine are backed by 54 of the state's 67 Republican county chairmen, by two of the three leaders of Philadelphia's Republican machine who control 43 of the city's 52 wards. They have at their command more than 30,000 state jobs which are not under civil service.

Kunkel is the avowed candidate and Cooke has the backing of Joseph R. Grundy's Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, whose president is the Republican National Committeeman from Pennsylvania, G. Mason Owlett. They are supported by US Senator Edward Martin, Duff's predecessor as Governor, and Arthur H. James, who preceded Martin in the Governor's chair. Cooke is a close personal friend of Harold E. Stassen, who is now drawing a salary as president of the University of Pennsylvania. (That did not prevent Cooke, however, from announcing last week that he would work for Eisenhower's nomination in 1952.)

The break between Duff and Grundy and Duff and Martin goes back to the Republican National Convention of 1948, when Martin took control of the Pennsylvania delegation away from Duff and delivered the majority of the delegates to Thomas E. Dewey, while Duff was still holding out for Senator Vandenberg.

There is no liberal-conservative issue in this primary fight. The voting records of Kunkel and Martin in the House and the Senate parallel those of John Taber of New York and Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska. And "Grundyism" as a political philosophy has done as much to wreck the Republican Party as Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman combined.

Governor Duff would like to wrap himself in this fight in the mantle of the "Young Turk," but he cannot divorce himself from his political record and from his political associates. His administration has lacked any spark of imagination. During his four years in Harrisburg, the state has appropriated the piddling sum of $15 million for housing, most of it for subsidies to private builders. A state FEPC law was defeated by two successive legislatures. Only two weeks ago, his Secretary of Public Assistance cut relief grants by $2 per person per month. He has continued the policy of his predecessors, James and Martin, of funneling the bulk of the state's highway funds into the rural counties which deliver the top-heavy Republican majorities, at the expense of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Last fall, Duff identified himself with the corrupt Republican machine of Philadelphia, even after his own Attorney General had been forced to prosecute some of the worst scandals in City Hall.

To say that the Democrats are watching the spectacle with glee is an understatement. Even before this civil war broke out within the GOP, they were approaching the 1950 campaign with high hopes. They will nominate on May 16 a slate of extraordinary strength which is practically unopposed.

Senator Francis J. Myers, who was first elected to the Senate in the Roosevelt election of 1944, is running for his second term. His stature has been greatly enhanced by his position as Democratic whip of the Senate. He has a good chance of bringing out the liberal vote that gave Pennsylvania to FDR three times. He is an excellent speaker, popular throughout the state, and has kept his constituents well informed, through the medium of weekly broadcasts and a skillfully written monthly newsletter.

Richardson Dilworth, the nemesis of Philadelphia's City Hall gang, is the Democratic candidate for Governor. He is moving very fast and may go very far in the nation. Last fall he climaxed two years of tempestuous campaigning with election as City Treasurer of Philadelphia by a smashing majority of 112,000. He has an enormous independent following in Philadelphia; and although many of them will return to the Republican fold in this state contest, his argument that the cleanup in Philadelphia cannot be completed without the help of a sympathetic administration in Harrisburg will win him much new support.

Looking beyond the GOP primary, former US Senator George Wharton Pepper, one of the most respected elder statesmen of the Republican Party, has tried to halt the battle by endorsing Duff for Senator and Cooke for Governor, but his appeal has met with no response from either side. Other such efforts will be made, but in view of the bitterness engendered by what has happened so far, they are not likely to succeed. In the showdown between Duff's patronage and Grundy's money, Duff is almost certain to win; it seems likely that he will carry his ticket with him.

Then it will remain for Francis Myers and Richardson Dilworth in November to show up the Duff "liberalism."

Johannes U. Hoeber is an economist and political scientist living in Philadelphia. He is prominent in Americans for Democratic Action.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: Generous Texas!

IN HR 8137 which the Judiciary Committee of the House has voted to report favorably over the opposition of such men as Representative Emanuel Celler of New York and Sam Hobbs of Alabama, Texas has burst at the seams with generosity. It is actually willing that the federal government shall share in the prospective revenues to be earned from the oil within the continental shelf beyond the shore line of coastwise states. The same bill would quitclaim to the states the oil lands lying within the three-mile limit upon which Texas, Louisiana and California have continued to trespass, with the acquiescence of the Departments of Justice and Interior. To be sure, the Supreme Court almost three years ago, in United States vs. California, decided that these off-shore oil lands belong to all of the people of the United States. But why should Texas bother about the Supreme Court? As for the continental shelf, beyond the three-mile limit, over which the federal government asserted sovereignty by a proclamation and which undoubtedly belongs to the government, this bill also provides that each coastal state shall be vested "with the right to 37.5 percentum of all moneys received by the United States . . ." as revenue from the continental shelf.

Citizens of those states which are so feckless as not to have tidelands or continental shelf may thank their stars that Speaker Sam Rayburn, whose brain child this bill really is, and his Merry Men have not demanded 100 percent or even 50 percent of the revenues. Mr. Rayburn had already earned the enduring gratitude of the oil and gas interests when, with callous disregard of proper legislative procedures, he succeeded in forcing the notorious Kerr gas bill, by hook or by crook, through the House. To be sure, President Truman roundly vetoed that vicious bill. But this has not discouraged Speaker Rayburn. Always against the special interests, except when the state of Texas may be benefited, he now proposes, in HR 8137, to give the people of his state a cut of better than one-third of prospective profits in off-shore and continental-shelf oil as against less advantageously located and less ably represented people of non-coast-line states. After all, what could the non-coastal states do about it if Texas should form an alliance with Louisiana and California and send their navies out to patrol their continental shelves and defy the government to exercise any right with respect to its own property?

I have often wondered what there is about oil that corrupts the minds of so many men in public life. At times, oil seems to have a degenerative effect upon the political morals of men who have served their country honorably and for its own best interest. Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas is a sad example of the result of mixing oil and politics. When Mr. Johnson first came to Washington as a Representative, he was a fighting liberal. When, after two attempts at the Senate, he finally came here as a Senator with the support of dubious business interests of Texas, he was a changed man. If it be true, as Mr. Dooley once said, that judges follow the election returns, it is even more true that politicians are ever conscious of those who contribute to election expenses.

But the case of Speaker Rayburn is really nothing short of tragic. Here is a man who represents a Texas district which produces neither oil nor gas. But during late years oil money from outside has gone into the Fourth Texas District in a dastardly effort to defeat a man who had represented not only his district, but his state, with distinction and whose political accomplishments had earned rewards. One would have thought that, on the basis of his fine public record, the oil interests would have respected Rayburn enough to have refrained from fighting him even if they had not been able to make him subservient to them.

Of course, not only the House of Representatives but the people generally would have rallied to Rayburn's standard, and bestowed even greater honors upon him if he had defied the oil gang and had led an onslaught against them in behalf of his country. But instead of a declaration of war, Speaker Rayburn deferred to forces and interests that are selfish and unpatriotic. In yielding to the outrageous demands of oil and gas, Mr. Rayburn seemed not to consider that the Speaker of the House of Representatives is in service to the people of the entire country, just as are the President and Vice President. As Speaker he has no right to yield unduly to selfish private interests. One would not blame him too much, if, simply as a Congressman, he was aware of the scent of oil even though there is no oil in his district. But there can be no doubt that, as Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn is out of step with his record, his demonstrated conception of public duty, and his place in history, when he resorts to the tactics in which he indulged to put over the Kerr bill. Nor does he serve the public interest with the devious policy in which he has been indulging in order to put over the huge steal that is the objective of HR 8137.

The timid Speaker of the House of Representatives would be less ill at ease and more becoming to the people if, when oil is concerned, he would serve the people despite local pressures. HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE WORLD OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES

by Max Lerner

JOHN FOSTER DULLES has not only covered the world in his new book; he has also laid bare—directly and by indirection—his own intellectual and moral world. In a cluttered book he sets down the nature of the Russian Threat, the balance sheet of what we have done both right and wrong in our foreign policy of the last five years, and a rather blurred blueprint of what we still need to do to prevent a war or to win it if it comes.

WAR OR PEACE, by John Foster Dulles (Macmillan; $2.50).

Dulles has been fiercely attacked by the Russians and by European and American Communists as an imperialist warmonger, a conscious and Machiavellian spokesman for big finance-capital in the Western bloc. He was also hailed, in the days when the name of Dewey shook the world, as a master magician and great intellect in foreign policy. I fear the book fails to live up to the advance billing of either the Stalin or the Dewey coteries.

Lawyer, churchman, diplomat, better than mediocre cold-war strategist, Dulles is a man of parts. But neither as Devil nor as thinker is he a figure of first-rate stature. He is not one of the McCarthy *kamikaze* squadron, nor is he a Wherry primitive, nor a member of the Chiang cult like Bridges or Knowland. He is intelligent, forceful, and on some matters even enlightened —especially on issues like colonialism and the war of ideas in Asia. He understands, for example, the need for admitting Communist China to its seat in the Security Council. He knows how to put the military boys in their place, being a civilian interested in political warfare rather than a military-minded devotee of the hydrogen bomb as the ultimate weapon. He assesses the political-moral price of a preventive war, and he knows also that out of the chaos of the next war a new totalitarianism is bound to emerge.

Yet you finish the book with no sense that your insights have been deepened or your spirit nourished. Dulles is a busy, ambitious man with a mastery of detail and a finger in numberless pies. He takes himself seriously, tells you when he had a sleepless night over the question of the Italian colonies, modestly describes the Dewey-Dulles-Vandenberg "team" as giving the Republicans "a powerful and coördinated leadership in foreign affairs." He takes credit for several important episodes in diplomatic history, including the Italian treaty, the "interim aid program" of the Marshall Plan (as a consequence, he says, "crowds followed me everywhere" in Paris and Europe) and the UN settlement of the Arab-Israeli war. He hints at the hand he had in winning France away from Russia at the Moscow Conference, and more than hints that he had the idea for the Marshall Plan before Marshall. One gets something of the feeling Mr. Dooley sought to convey when he described Theodore Roosevelt's history of the Rough Riders as meriting the title "Alone in Cub-i-a."

The account of how Dulles zoomed around Europe from London to Ankara during the 1948 election campaign, reassuring the foreign ministers about what our policy would be with Dewey as Allah and himself as his Mohammed-Prophet, is a masterpiece of humorlessness. And his wonderful sentence, "The contingency we prepared for did not happen," must go down in political history as a classic example of dazed and rueful understatement.

The crucial trouble with Dulles' world is that he tries to be both a churchman relying on spiritual values and a power-politician relying on an overwhelming balance of force. He cannot make the two parts of his intellectual world meet, or tie the loose strings together. The result is that when Dulles appeals to the spiritual he sounds more unctuous than others, and when he maps out plans for strengthening Germany and Japan or building an underground of espionage in Europe he sounds more cynical than others. His proposals are not much different from those of Acheson's "total diplomacy," yet there is a basic difference in the quality of their thinking. There is a dry, deflationist strain in Acheson, even in his moral formulations, as befits a man who is convinced that much of the world's mischief comes from the disillusionments that follow unfulfilled moral promises and impossible moral claims. Dulles, on the other hand, talks so incessantly of the "evil" of the Russian outlook that it is hard to see how so many "godless" Communist sinners and so many believing democratic saints can live in the same world. Even the power problems and idea differences are converted into moral terms, and one lives in the high and heady atmosphere of a moral imperialism.

It is a real insight on the part of Dulles to take over and apply to our era Leon Trotsky's mordant phrase about Brest-Litovsk, "not war, not peace." But anyone who writes about this twilight phase of today must address himself to the two crucial questions of our time. The first is whether a war is inevitable; and, if it is not, the second is how we can win the long-drawn-out political struggle for man's allegiances the world over.

Dulles starts by saying: "War is not inevitable, and I do not think that it is imminent," but given the book as a whole, this seems mere whistling in the graveyard. If one assumes, as we must, that American leaders will not start a war, then the basic inquiry becomes one into the sources of Russian conduct. On this score Dulles, having recently discovered Marxism, falls into the temptation of "realistic" conservatives—that of becoming an overnight expert on Marx and Lenin. In a section of the chapter called "Know Your Enemy" he devotes seven pages to a review of Stalinist doctrine. The result is a triumph of legalism over historical understanding. Dulles approaches the writings of

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Lenin and Stalin as if they were an opposing brief, to be strategically excerpted and argued down. The total effect is skimpy, superficial, distorted.

The fact is that you cannot interpret Soviet doctrine as if it were a consistent body of theory on the question of war and peace between Capitalism and Communism. There are ample quotations to back up the theory of a "we-or-they" choice. But there are also quotations to back up the "coexistence theory," which Stalin has recently been stressing. "Let American capitalists not touch us," said Lenin in a statement to the New York *Evening Journal* in 1920, "and we will not touch them." A historian would not have omitted from his resumé of doctrine the 30-year thread of continuity between the Lenin of 1920 and the Stalin of 1950. But a lawyer arguing a brief does omit it. If it is true that Russian doctrine is as fixed as Dulles makes it, and the Russian leaders the same kind of gangsters as the Nazis, then Dulles' hope that a war can be avoided is wishful thinking. (Actually he has been quoted as saying to the members of a church delegation that the chances of avoiding war are only one or two in a thousand.)

The sources of Russian conduct are worth serious inquiry. Are the Russian leaders Nazi gangsters, bent on their own personal power no matter what the consequences to the world? Are they religious fanatics, tied to a new secular religion, and willing to martyr themselves and the world for it? Are they shrewd strategists of political warfare who will bend to pressure rather than break and destroy themselves, but who meanwhile exploit ruthlessly every means of increasing Communist power? Dulles does not answer these questions, does not even searchingly inquire into them. Yet a book on *War or Peace* which is not built around these questions as a core is next to worthless.

If war can be avoided, then the struggle of ideas becomes the crucial one during our generation. I think Dulles understands this. But again, he has no clear notion of how the struggle can be carried on. He knows that we have lost out in Asia because the Russians have found fertile soil in colonial and racial resentments against the West. To follow out this logic we should have to adopt the policy of being on the side of the underdogs rather than the top-dogs in order to stop the Communist wave in Asia. Dulles flinches from this.

As for Western Europe, he sees clearly the need for "filling in the economic vacuum," but again he fails to visualize the existence of a real Third Force not only in Europe but throughout the world—a Third Force which leans to our side but is terrified of a destructive war between the two great powers. "If a banker were asked," writes Dulles, "to lend the money for rebuilding a tenement house which had proved a ghastly fire hazard . . . he would . . . refuse unless modern fire prevention were introduced." This is meant as an argument for a West European Union. But the figure of speech is itself a betrayal. As long as the shapers of American policy think of our democracy as a banker, the world will continue to think of us as a money lender. Despite the isolationists and the McCarthyites, there is a store of generosity in the American people and the sense of a real stake in what happens to human beings elsewhere. While the Dulleses of our time are the shapers and interpreters of American policy, the sources of our conduct will continue to be distorted abroad.

TO LIVE AND TO WRITE

PATERSON: BOOKS I AND II, by William Carlos Williams (New Directions; $1.50).

PATERSON: BOOK III, by William Carlos Williams (New Directions; $3).

WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAM, by Vivienne Koch (New Directions; $2).

THE PAST YEAR has been a lively one for the reputation of William Carlos Williams. His publishers brought out a volume of selected verse, reissued the first two parts and published the third part of *Paterson*, the poet's work in progress. Miss Koch's study is the first full-length consideration of Williams' whole work—the poems, novels, essays and plays. And now the book trade, with considerable fanfare, has initiated an annual prize (to commemorate its own activities, as much as anything) and gained stature and point for its innocent publicity stunt by granting Williams' *Selected Poems* and *Paterson III* the first "National Book Award" for poetry. The value of the award is not in the plaque presented, or in recognition by a competent panel of judges, but in the general enthusiasm that greeted it—as frequently as not, it seems, from people who have but the vaguest impression of Williams' verse. The enthusiasm was affectionate and personal—and appropriate, it so happens—because Williams' writing is intimately related to his various personas: the local sage; the accomplished and scrupulous artist; the pediatrician who has practised all his professional life in his home town (Rutherford, New Jersey). Williams is a shrewd, positive, sometimes cranky, but always compelling man.

The long poem, *Paterson*, is Williams' most ambitious work; it is also his most characteristic because it sums up his problem as a poet and his experience as a man. "Paterson" is nominally Paterson, New Jersey, an average American industrial city, but the poet gave a hint of his scope when he proposed in a prefatory note "that a man himself is a city, beginning, seeking, achieving and concluding his life in ways which the various aspects of a city may embody," and, conversely, when as an epitaph to *Paterson III*, he quotes from Santayana: "Cities are a second body for the human mind, a second organism . . . a work of natural yet moral art, where the soul sets up her trophies of action and instruments of pleasure." A loose, inclusive structure, as befitting the exhaustive subject, Paterson is a deposit of human experience, a history (often personal), a person (occasionally that of the writer-physician), a voice ("Who am I?/ the voice!").

Of the recent third part of the poem (subtitled "The Library") Williams said it "will seek a language." He says, moreover, in another place, that "the brunt of the four books of Paterson . . . is a search for a redeeming language." Thus the explicit subject of the poem becomes—as it increasingly becomes in contemporary poetry—the writing itself. This artistic self-consciousness is not just an idle curiosity about, or preoccupation with, the mechanics of a craft; it is a consciousness of *self*, because the poet recognizes in the exigencies of writing the problems of life itself, "so that to write,"

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observes Williams, "nine tenths of the problem is to live." To live, because to evolve a language—an idiom, a style, a way of saying—appropriate to contemporary experience and sensibility, the poet must have assimilated that experience and sympathetically appreciated that sensibility.

As Miss Koch neatly puts it, "Williams wished to get at the inner meaning of America through possessing her present. It was the present, the thick, living flux of the present he wished to fix and 'raise to the imagination'." (But the past, too, is vividly "present" to Williams; note the first part of *Paterson* and those extraordinary historical essays, *In the American Grain.*) It is for his way of "fixing" the "living flux of the present," then, that Williams has created his language. A language spare and exact, and dramatic too, because always close to the idiom and rhythms of speech. More than thirty years ago he wrote: "There is but one thing we can know directly and that is the world we own and we do own it." *This* man, sensible and unspeculative, owns his world (and best describes it) by externals and tangibles, "directly." Thus, a language which embodies and encompasses these is the "redeeming language" which the poet seeks. And this much, at least, is contained in the lines from *Paterson II*: "Be reconciled, poet, with your world, it is/the only truth!"

JOHN FARRELLY

WHO IS NORMAL?

THE NEUROSIS OF MAN, by Trigant Burrow (Harcourt, Brace; $7.50).

IT IS a commonplace to observe that man has applied scientific method to a study of everything except himself, or to claim that he can never obtain sufficient objective data to validate such a study. Yet many esoteric doctrines, such as psychoanalysis and semantics, are based on assumptions that *they* are scientific, and that the universal application of each, respectively, will culminate automatically in heaven for everybody.

Trigant Burrow dissents on all of these points. Scientific method *has* been applied to a study of human behavior, and objective data *are* available. These are achievements, not of psychoanalysts or semanticists, but of Dr. Burrow and his colleagues. "Phyloanalysis," *the* scientific program for saving humanity from neurosis, is now available.

Neurosis is social, not individual. *Everyone* (psychoanalyst and patient, Dr. Burrow and his colleagues) is neurotic. Each of us is ridden with a crippling self-bias; each of us is motivated by "covert self-interest." So phyloanalysis (group-analysis) takes into account the personal bias of the therapists themselves, whereas psychiatry falsely assumes that its practitioners have "normal" personalities and are competent to guide their patients toward "maturity."

The rigid personal reservations which we protect so desperately constitute our "social image," or "face." Yet, despite its ubiquity in our culture, our social image is "biologically fictitious." It is a social accretion contaminating our once pure biological selves. Since we are all guilty of sin—acquired, not original—our infatuation with our social image, with self, *is* neurosis. Our social image creeps into our reactions, to divert our attention to self-conscious environmental fragments—*my* this and *my* that—leaving our lives in neurotic disorder. But biologically adjusted man reacts with full physiological attention to his environment. Dr. Burrow's standard for "normality," therefore, is not mental or symbolic, but physiological.

Dr. Burrow's book contains many fine insights into the nature of our personal and social imbalances. The reader will be astonished to learn just how much fraud there is in his own evaluation of his "self." To the extent that phyloanalysis provides a physiological motivation that is prior to our symbolic behavior, it would seem to be scientific; its relativistic inclusion of the analyst is compelling proof. Certainly, it will give the exponents of over-intellectualized therapies some uneasy moments. But Dr. Burrow's assumption that it qualifies him to prophesy what man and society should be and how their ends are to be attained, is the very negation of scientific method, if for no other reason than that he would offer salvation solely through Science—*his* science, of course.

By extrapolating himself right out into metaphysical never-never land, Dr. Burrow is damned by his own absolute; he has failed to turn his full physiological attention to the part that *mind* plays in changing individuals and their multiverse. To say that we are all neurotic is only a sterile and overbearing way of reminding us that we are human beings, creatures at once strong and wretched, and capable of an indescribable diversity of individual successes and failures. It is to dehumanize, not to "normalize," man.

But Dr. Burrow is used to finding that people are uncomfortable when confronted with his physiological One World. He has made his position invulnerable by pointing out that any symbol-using criticism of his thesis—such as this one—is precise proof of how right he is. Disagreement with Dr. Burrow is also neurosis.

MAYNARD WHITLOW

THEATRE

Seemly Mirth

WITHOUT SEEMING to be aware of it, the Hartmans provide in "Tickets Please" something that is extraordinarily refreshing and encouraging and, in its way, important. The impression of casualness in the performance is an illusion, of course; Grace and Paul Hartman and others of the cast are professionals. But however studied and rehearsed it may be, the effect is of a group of oddly assorted and irreverent people who have come together by accident and are resolved to enjoy themselves, for one evening at least, in this worst of all possible times.

Their enjoyment lies largely in making fun of contemporary institutions. The reaction of the audience suggests that we could do with a good deal more of this spirit. The belly laughs are frequent enough and when the audience is not laughing outright it is beaming.

The Hartmans and their associates have fun with the current roller-derby mania, abstract art, the cult of the ballet, the drama, women's clubs, television, and the secrecy hysteria which has become the featured attraction in Congress. They even defile our holiest idol —American know-how.

The sketch called "A Senate Investigation" is what lends this unpretentious review a certain importance. Its comment on our present political absurdities and vices is neat and devastating. The

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pleasure that the audience takes in it is heartening, for it implies that if some of our political leaders and commentators have lost all sense of proportion, a part of the public, at least, has not. It is a reminder of the theatre's historic role in eras of thought control. One suspects that if this sketch could play the road, it would be appreciated and enjoyed as much in Senator McCarthy's home district as in New York.

The Hartmans are superb at all times. Jack Albertson performs a variety of tasks with great finesse and a delightfully relaxed style; Roger Price is both funny and original; and Dorothy Jarnac does some inspired athletic dancing. With her speed and timing and a good line in front of her, she could score at will against Notre Dame. Patricia Bright was enjoyable, but in a show so loaded with satire there was little room to exploit her specialty of ribbing other actors. Harry Herrmann, Edmund Rice, Jack Roche and Ted Luce deserve high praise for the intelligence of the sketches, and the show's pace and verve reflect credit on Director Mervyn Nelson. Not much can be said for the music.

JACK WEEKS

"A Phoenix Too Frequent" and "Freight," two long one-acters presented jointly to make up an evening, opened on a Wednesday and closed the same Saturday. It would be interesting to know why. There is much that could be said against these plays and their manner of presentation, but the thing to be said for them is that both, according to their violently opposed moods, projected their striking, self-reliant and fully developed personalities into an audience that was impressed and clearly appreciative. Is this such a common feat in the contemporary theatre that, because of cool reviews and perhaps a small advance sale, it could be forfeited before a single word of mouth had time to be spoken?

"A Phoenix Too Frequent" is by the currently fabulous Englishman, Christopher Fry, and is admittedly one of the slighter efforts of a man who deals in effervescence. The story, from Petronius, is of a Roman lady who at midnight lies inviting death by her husband's tomb and at dawn is joyfully offering his corpse to relieve the embarrassment of her new lover, a mem-

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ber of the night guard from whom a gibbeted felon has been stolen. The play suffers in its own right because the content does not support the verbosity, because the tongue-in-cheek extravagance bursts of over-inflation. In this production it suffered also because the cast of three (Nina Foch, Richard Derr and Vicki Cummings) seemed aware of the flaws and inclined to kid the kidding. Nevertheless, it was graceful, elegant and pretty and the laughter was still there in the morning. Overnight laughter is a commodity that I, for one, am always ready to buy.

"Freight," a race battle in a box car, is an editorial drama of the kind seen a good deal in the years of the WPA. It could be dismissed perhaps for overstating its case, for trafficking in hysteria, for being written not for the stage but the pulpit. The performance of "Freight" could not so easily be booted into an alley. After a slack but emotionally shrill opening, the cast settled down to a drumming upon the nerves and understanding of the spectators that effectively blotted out the knowledge that you had been through all this before. Dots Johnson (he is the Negro GI of "Paisan") and Maxwell Glanville dominated and drew sparks from a company of admirable actors enlisted from the American Negro Theatre; Glen Gordon, the only white man in the cast and the symbol of lynch, sank himself into a role of pitiless degradation. A rickety body and a rickety mind are not easily assumed, but there was no pretense or mock madness in his frightening performance. Though I can't pretend that there was any great originality to "Freight," a production that coerces participation in, and thus knowledge of, an extreme and terrible situation is worth at least some run for its money.

ROBERT HATCH

Harold Clurman is in Europe; letters by him from London, Paris and elsewhere on the Continent will appear shortly.

MOVIES: Men Are Such Babies

It is extremely painful to watch helplessly the agonies of a lovely young woman dying of cancer; the experience becomes almost unendurable when the victim must go through her ordeal while married to a man who, for all his broad shoulders and business enterprise, is decked out in emotional diapers. "No Sad Songs for Me" is being billed in thunderous whispers as the first picture bold enough to discuss openly the most feared of diseases; the promoters do not say, and probably do not know, that their movie also displays an emotional relationship as malignant as any tumor.

Mr. Bradford Scott (Wendell Corey), builder of dams and a paragon of virile decency, cannot get down to breakfast, cannot tie a bow tie, listens only to jazz, falls asleep when his wife discusses the meaning of life, and is so excited by a new toy (sorry, new blueprint) that he forgets to ask whether the pregnancy test was positive. This deep-voiced, muscular child is unable to keep track of the time and thus finds himself dancing with the wrong woman when New Year's Eve strikes midnight; he is also unable to detect that his feelings for a capable girl assistant have passed the point of professional admiration or that his beloved wife has lost thirty pounds in six months and is under the constant influence of powerful opiates. When ultimately he discovers the state of his amorous confusion he runs to his wife's arms for comfort and when the doctor at last tells him the nature of her illness he bursts into angry tears.

Mrs. Bradford Scott (Margaret Sullavan), a Joan of Arc under sentence of death, is cool, efficient, incredibly brave, awake to the sublimities of long-playing records and the profundities of human experience. When she learns that she will be dead in less than a year, it does not occur to her to relay the information to her ten-year-old daughter or to her forty-year-old husband. Instead, she engages a governess-wife to care for them after her departure, this being the afore-mentioned competent assistant (Viveca Lindfors). In a couple of scenes of stupendous effrontery, Miss Sullavan and Miss Lindfors decide between them in whose bedroom their

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charge is to disport himself for the present and in the future. It never occurs to them that he might wish to choose his own playmate.

Throughout this picture, Miss Sullavan plays (and plays superbly, it should be said) the ultimate apotheosis of the Hollywood wife and mother. Seeing all, forgiving all, tempering reality to the naked skin of her boy-mate, she manages her world with faultless judgment and perfect tact. She acknowledges the clumsy compliments and blurted confessions of her husband with precisely the amused tenderness she displays toward the babblings of her daughter (mother and daughter, however, share a depth of understanding from which daddy is perforce excluded). Is it not the crown of her heroism that she bears her fear and pain alone? On the contrary, it is an affront and a cause for alarm.

If Hollywood thus reflects accurately the ideals of modern American men and women, it is not surprising that the country is jumping with marriage counsellors, alcoholic cures and psychiatric practitioners, or that investigations into our libidinal tastes reveal so many interesting deviations from the norm.

The history of Mrs. Scott's martyrdom is an extreme but not a unique example of the Hollywood version of the battle between the sexes. Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites, in the recently published *Movies: A Psychological Study*, devote a chapter to the ethical and practical superiority of women in marriage. They offer, among many examples, the case of "Sentimental Journey," in which the heroine "knowing that she is dying (a fact which she must, of course, conceal from her husband) . . . adopts [a] little girl and trains her to take her own place." Also, "The wife's assumption of [the husband's] childlikeness seems to serve the purpose of justifying her arrangement of his life for his own good, even though he does not see the wisdom of her provisions." To such a point, if we are to believe the studios, has the institution of holy matrimony now degenerated. I was sorry that Mrs. Scott had to die so horribly, but I couldn't help hoping that it might be a useful lesson to Mr. Scott and that he would go into his next marriage with his ears dry. Without much optimism, however; he also looked incurable.

Defined very loosely, there are two kinds of crime story: the whodunit and the psychological anatomy lesson. The first is a puzzle and no one cares much about the people who are moved about in it, but in the second you are less taken up with clues and slamming doors than in watching a fellow being work his way through a web of evil and peril. "House by the River," in the second category, fails because the murderer (Louis Hayward) is such a manifest stinker that you cannot concern yourself with his fate. Fritz Lang has directed this adaptation of the A. P. Herbert novel with a rather flat good taste and an overinsistence on baleful skies and dark stairways.

No one could possibly say what point "The Big Lift" is trying to make, but the point it does make is simple: fliers should confine their activities to airplanes and leave politics and ethics to people equipped to deal with them.

While Montgomery Clift, Paul Douglas and a cast of amateur actors supplied by the Air Force (as one character remarks, the Air Force is not averse to an occasional bit of publicity) are engaged in flying coal and food into marooned Berlin, they are natural, wonderfully dexterous and casually ingratiating. But when Clift and Douglas leave the base at Tempelhof and wander into the streets of Berlin, chaos ensues. The boys become involved at once in a politico-amorous mixup in which a lost uniform, two girls with obvious charms but dubious pasts, a comic Russian spy, an ex-Stalag guard and the military police of the occupying powers assist in confounding the confusion. The lesson seems to be that not all Germans committed atrocities but that a soldier wants to look twice before marrying one of them, that the Russians are fools, and that it is impolite to push conquered people off the sidewalk. The statement is also made that democracy has advantages enjoyed by neither Fascism nor Communism, but I knew that already.

Douglas is a good actor; when is someone going to find him an "All the King's Men"? ROBERT HATCH

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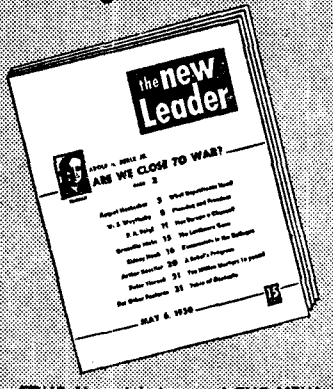

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